Burnar Minta. March Scale, 1870,

Ne A TILOVE PAPERS

Week ending the 29th March 1879.

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

o.	Names of Newspapers.	Ĺ		Place of publication.	Number of copies issued.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.
-	Bengali.		1100	loo roll to		
	Monthly.		4-21	outing the account of		I DIEN LEVINI
		ei 'i	Pag!	Baráhanagar	4,000	ov. 180m) minus
١,	"Bhárat Shramajíví" "Rájsháhye Sambád"	•••	***	Distil		
3	"Grámvártá Prakáshiká"	***		(Yamanasila	200	em svicosmann
3	"Arya Pratibhá"	Vis		Bhawanipore		leannach Balling
	"Suhrid"			Calcutta		
1	Bi-monthly.			10000000000000000000000000000000000000	s assimila w	
3	"Cálná Prakásh"			Cálná		of sale of mela
	"Hindu Lalaná"		•••	Nawabgunge, Barrack-		
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3	"Sahayogi"			Bhawanipore, Calcutta		a noisible a salt
	Weekly.					
)	"Ananda Bazar Patrika"			Calcutta		25th March 1879.
)	"Banga Hitaishi"	***	***	Bhawanipore, Calcutta	******	Same and wind the
	"Bhárat Mihir"	•••		Mymensingh	658	20th ditto.
	"Bhárat Sanskárak"	•••	•••	Harinábhi		PARTITION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTITION OF THE PARTITI
	"Bengal Advertiser"	***	•••	Ditto		De Carrier Constitution
	"Bishwa Dút"			Táliganj, Calcutta	******	
	"Bardwan Pracharika"	***	***	Bardwan	165	10. 11.05.16.17
	"Bardwan Sanjivani"	•••	•••	Ditto	*****	18th ditto.
	"Dacca Prakásh"	***	•••	Dacca	400	16th ditto.
	"Education Gazette"		***	Hooghly	1,168	21st ditto.
	"Grámvártá Prakáshiká"	***		Comercolly	200	15th ditto.
)	"Hindu Hitaishinf"		***	Dacea	300	
	"Hindu Ranjika"		***	Beauleah, Rájsháhye	200	19th ditto.
	"Murshidábád Pratinidhi"	•••	•••	Berhampore	******	21st ditto.
-	"Pratikár"		***	Ditto	235	013
	"Rangpore Dik Prakash"	***	***	Kákiniá, Rangpore	250	6th ditto.
5	"Sádháraní"		•••	Chinsurah	516	23rd ditto.
3	"Sahachar"	***	•••	Calcutta	******	24th ditto.
	"Samáchár Sár"	***	•••		******	17th ditto.
	"Sambád Bháskar"	•••	•••	Calcutta		Control of the second s
	"Sanjivani"	•••	•••	Mymensingh Calcutta	E 500	22nd ditto.
-	"Sulabha Samáchár" "Soma Prakásh"	***	•••	Dhamdalmana	5,500 700	24th ditto.
•	"Soma Prakásh"	•••	•••	Duawampore	200	asti dicto.
)	"Banga Mitra"			Calcutta	4,000	In this paper, the
•	Banga Mitra Tri-weekly.	•••		Catcutta	2 ,000	ex-sum of the contract of the
3	"Samáchár Sudhábarshan"			Ditto	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
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	"Sambád Prabhákar"	AND I		Ditto	550	17th to 20th, and 22nd to 26th Marc
1	" Nambad Púwnachandwadawa"			Ditto		20th to 27th March 1879.
-	"Samáchár Chandriká"	1570		Ditto	625	19th to 26th ditto.
1 :	"Samáchár Chandriká" "Banga Vidyá Prakáshiká"		7	Ditto		
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)	"Howrah Hitakari"	***	•••	Demar, Howran	300	1 18 - 18 - 12 per 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
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3	"Urdu Guide"	***		Calcutta	400	22nd March 1879.
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1	URDU. Bi-monthly. "Akhbár-ul-Akhiár"		1-1-10 1	100 1 F	a street & set	
,	Akhbar-ul-Akhiar	•••		Mazufferpore		ed .Convegant
4	HINDI. Weekly.	14		PART RATE		
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	Benar Bandhu	****	***	Bankipore, Patna	509	19th and 26th March 1879.
3	"Behár Bandhu" "Bhárat Mitra" "Sár Sudhánidhi"		•••	Calcutta	•••••	20th March 1879.
	"Sár Sudhánidhi"			Ditto	inne.	17th and 24th March 1879.
7	PERSTAN.	morris	1 48 0	M. pherion	650	03-4 35-m-1 1000
1	"Jám-Jahán-numá"		***	Ditto	250	21st March 1879.

POLITICAL.

BRABAT MINIB. March 20th, 1879.

The Bharat Mihir, of the 20th March, considers the remarks made by Lord Lytton in reference to the The Afghan war, Afghan war, in the course of his reply to the memorial of the British Indian Association, to have been irrelevant and of an unduly blustering character. To many they will furnish matter for amusement. It appears from them that the war is not likely to end soon, and that Government will not desist until something, on a gigantic scale, has been done in Afghanistan. Indeed, evil days have come over India. Government will not stop short of annexing a portion of Afghanistan. Yet the Afghans do not possess sufficient resources for the support of an administration so highly expensive as the British.

SADWARANT. March 23rd, 1879.

2. We take the following from an article in the Sádhárani, of the 23rd March, headed "Manchester has obtain-Lord Lytton and the cotton duties. ed her selfish demands:"-Instances are not rare in which the adage, "Hold the umbrella over the rich man's head, but spurn (with your feet) that of the luckless," is carried out into practice. Hence it is that no English ruler has ever had the courage to disregard the selfish demands of Manchester. The British are a nation of merchants; and their mercantile spirit appears in its concentrated form in Manchester, which also is the focus of the national greatness—a greatness entirely due to commerce. So that, when the merchants of Manchester selfishly demanded the abolition of the import duties on their cotton goods, both Lord Cranbrook and Lord Lytton were obliged to bow in submission before them. Their demand, indeed, has not been fully conceded, but they are not the men to easily let it go, more especially as they are well aware of the mental imbecility of those with whom they have to deal. So that there can be no doubt that sooner or later they will get everything they want. That Manchester possesses a wonderful knowledge of men has been proved in this instance. Once before, when Lord Northbrook was the Governor-General of India, they made this demand in a half audible voice; but that Governor, whatever other faults he might have had, was not the person to listen to any selfish demands; and thus it was that no sooner had the whispers of this selfish prayer reached his ears, than he firmly declined to accede to it. The fact, however, that the present Ministry is always kept in leading strings by Manchester, and that continuance in the office of Viceroy, so long as it was in power, would necessitate his acceding to many things equally wrong as the demands of the merchants, coupled with the further consideration that it would not do for a man of his firm convictions to become an instrument for such acts of unfairness, led Lord Northbrook, in order that his sense of justice might not be hurt, cheerfully to lay down his highest office and retire. The Ministry were, for a while, struck dumb at this exhibition of But Manchester was not to be disregarded in this fashion; and consequently a man was now wanted who would be able to satisfy the demands of Manchester and give effect to the views of the Ministry. Fortunately for them, and as our fates would have it, Lord Lytton was got hold of. had known him before only as a poet and writer of a high order; but the Ministry sent him out to India to become the arbiter of our destinies. It is said that, before coming out, he held a secret consultation with the then Indian Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury. What the conversation was about has not transpired, but it is said that he then promised that the demands of Manchester would be satisfied. That he has now at length been able to redeem that promise to some extent must be a source of self-approbation to himself, not to speak of the unbounded gratification it has caused in our minds. The financial statement for 1879-80

has just been published. Truth to tell, as the

The Financial Statement for 1879-80.

year draws to a close, our blood gets chilled through fear; and we seem to think that, with the advent of the new year, Government will probably impose a new tax. The statement for 1879-80 does not indeed contain reference to any new tax, but the outlook is not cheering. Within the last few years the expenditure has reached such an unreasonable amount, that the cost of the administration is not covered even by the proceeds of the different taxes levied from the people. Deficits occur almost every year. After stating the figures under the different heads, the editor remarks that, considering the deficit that has occurred, and the cost of the Afghan war, the greater portion of which is yet to be incurred, the yearly loss by exchange, and the recurrence of famines, to meet which the Viceroy himself pointed out the necessity of forming a reserve fund, the relinquishment of a portion of the revenue obtained from the import duties must be regarded as a striking feature of the present budget. It is to be wondered at that, notwithstanding a full knowledge of all these things, Government has not had the courage to disregard the groundless demands of Manchester; and that, on the plea of free trade principles, it has been obliged, without a protest, to forego a revenue of twenty lakhs of rupees a year. It is for this that we have spoken of the power of Manchester as being unbounded, a power which, from the House of Commons down to Lord Lytton, no one has the courage to withstand. This much, however, can be said, that Parliament ordered that the cotton duties should be abolished only when the condition of the Indian Exchequer would warrant this. We have shown what the state is of the finances. May we not ask Lord Lytton-"My Lord, on what grounds have you sanctioned the repeal of these duties? We know that you must carry out the instructions of the House of Commons; even if we did not know this, the other day your Excellency in a manner, informed the British Indian Association of this fact. Still you were perfectly free to say that this was not the time when the duties could be repealed. This, however, you have not said, and consequently in future you may become popular with the House, although the two hundred and fifty millions of weak and helpless natives, for whose weal and woe you will be some day held accountable to a tribunal a thousand times higher and holier than Parliament, will for ever store up in their minds this story of your mental imbecility." In fact, the more we study the character of Lord Lytton, the greater becomes our disgust with Would his Lordship have been really consigned to hell had he represented the poverty of India to Parliament, and asked for permission to postpone to some future day the abolition of the import duties? A ruler as he is, is not he aware of the miserable condition of this country? Does not he know that, for the purpose of obtaining funds to meet the cost of the administration, taxes have to be levied even from those that cannot manage to earn their livelihood? What Lord Lytton has done is irrevocable; having lived so long under the British Government, well have we come to learn that even if the ruler changed his mind, such an order, as this one, would not be altered. We can, however, freely assert that had Government submitted, in some other way, to a loss equal to that caused by the repeal of the import duties, the action would have been more in accord with justice. In the present action of Government, by which a fourth part of a revenue, against which no one in the country had ever protested, has been given up to satisfy the selfish demands of Manchester, while a yearly tax of Rs. 2 is levied from those that with difficulty manage to live from hand to mouth—in this we do not see any sign of justice or consideration. Had it been ruled that from this year yearly incomes of less than Rs. 300 would be exempted from the operations of the License Tax Act, the measure would have benefited Government both here and in the next world: in this world,

inasmuch as it might have avoided the loss which has been caused by the relinquishment of the cotton duties; and in the next also, for if the blessings of the poor had ever done anybody spiritual good, that good would have accrued to the rulers by exempting the poor from the license tax. It is exceedingly to be regretted that although Government was desirous of repealing a tax after having once imposed it, those that ought to have received the benefit of the measure have notreceived it. One word more before we conclude. A Government which always asserts that in seeking to maintain an equilibrium between the income and expenditure of the State, it has chiefly in view the interests of the people of India, has now in order to gratify the selfish interests of the wealthy merchants of Manchester, shown an unmistakable partiality, foregone a revenue of 20 lakhs of rupees. Henceforth we shall not believe the words of Government; and have now come to know that Governors-General like Lord Lytton do not attend to the interests of India. We do not hold any one but His Excellency responsible for this sacrifice of our interests. We admit that he is a servant of the House of Commons, and may have received secret instructions from it; but the House has not publicly told him to abolish the cotton duties instantly. Never shall we forget this instance of partiality which he has shown to his race in this time of our distress. We shall also bear in mind that the professions and practice of the rulers do not always agree. They only know how they mean to make up for the loss of 20 lakhs of rupees thus surrendered to unworthy hands; but, in the name of justice, let not the impoverished people of India be, at some future date, called upon to pay for it.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

SAR SUDBANIDHI, March 17th, 1879. 3. The Sár Sudhánidhi, of the 17th March, thus refers to the Viceroy's reply:—The persons that waited in deputation upon the Viceroy are the leading members and mouth-pieces of the native society, but His Excellency has regarded them as common fellows. Would it not have been better if the observations addressed to them had been couched in more courte-ous language? The responsible ruler of India as Lord Lytton is, it behoves

ous language? The responsible ruler of India as Lord Lytton is, it behoves him, in undertaking any public measure, to attend to the condition of both England and India. It will not do merely to say of any act that it is sanctioned by Parliament; for there would be no necessity for the office of Viceroy in that case. We know that the importunity of Manchester is felt to be powerful by Lord Lytton; but which is the wealthier of the two, England or India? Although the later is a poor country, she has to pay annually about 20 crores of rupees to England. She, however, contentedly bears this burden. In administering the finances Government should attend to the condition of the country.

BARDWAN SANJIVANI, March 18th, 1879.

4. The Burdwan Sanjivani, of the 18th March, contains an article on the Subject of the memorial of the British Indian Association on the cotton duties. The observations made by the editor are similar

to those noticed in paragraph 14 of our last Report.

HINDU RANJINA, March 19th, 1879. The loan asked for from England. it is that Government has sometimes a deficit, and at other times a surplus in its hands. England is rich with the wealth of India, which is now as poor as a beggar of the streets, and is encumbered with debt. The Government of India, it is said, has asked for a loan from the British Exchequer.

BRABAT MIRIR, March 90th, 1879.

6. In reviewing the financial statement for 1879-80, the Bhárat

Mihir, of the 20th March, thus refers to the
expenditure on account of famine relief:

Although we must clearly say that had the Government of India girded up
its loins beforehand to duly contend with the
monster of famine, there would not have occurred so many premature deaths and such an amount of human misery; still
there can be no doubt that the extra expenditure noted in the statement
was really incurred for the purpose of relieving the famine-stricken. Instead
of, therefore, blaming the Government of India in any way, we are sincerely

Adverting to the yearly loss by exchange, the writer remarks:—The unfavourable exchange is sucking dry almost half the blood of the Government of India; but unfortunately, intoxicated with successes in war, it has not yet paid sufficient attention to the subject. There is, however, some reference made

to it in the Budget. If the increase of Increase of expenditure. expenditure which has taken place within the last four years continued to occur for another two periods of four years each, India would be converted into a cremation-ground. If wealth be the foundation of social prosperity, we are singularly happy under the British Government. During the last four years the expenditure incurred has been more than 28 crores of rupees. The famine expenditure has been excessive. If the Famine Commission, which is now actively doing its work, had been appointed four years earlier, many human lives and much money might have been saved. As to the war with Afghanistan, it has been an act of extreme indiscretion and rashness on the part of the Government of India at this time of financial difficulty to enter upon war with a weaker power merely for the sake of prestige; a war in which victory will not bring any credit, vhile defeat will entail disgrace. There is, however, a single ray of hope which lights the otherwise dark political horizon; namely, that no tax is to be imposed this year. At least for the space of the next twelve months our minds will be relieved of a heavy load. But we are ill-fated, and cannot be confident. The man whose term of life has expired is bitten by a snake even from under the ground.

7. We extract the following observations from an article in the same paper headed the "Extinction of the liberty of speech:"—We have at length come to see the intention and object with which Act IX

of 1878 was passed. Even up to last week, we did not give up the idea that Lord Lytton had passed this measure hastily in a moment of self-forgetfulness and under the influence of evil counsel. We had from the first regarded him as a liberal-minded and a sincere person, and thought that he was gifted with so much greatness of mind that, in the space of five years, the base narrowness of Indian life would not be able to approach His Excellency. Hence it was that, in spite of any difference of opinion on public measures which we may have had with him, we did not, beyond blaming him for his error, censure his motive. So that, even in noticing the deadly Act IX of 1878—a measure which tore asunder the vital chords of our system, and unmade the good results of half a century—we did not feel inclined to cast imputations on the intentions and motives of Lord Lytton.

Other days, however, now seem to have come over the country, and we perceive that, with the advent of Lord Lytton, the fundamental

BHARAT MIHIR.

principles of the Indian administration have undergone a change The reign of might, which was inaugurated on the 1st January 1877 on: the occasion of proclaiming the imperial title, is being gradually developed through the different public acts of Lord Lytton, who is seeking to perfectly establish the Government of brute force. It is not easy, on any other supposition, to account for such measures as the Vernacular Press Act, the Arms Act, and, lastly, the reply given to the memorial of the British Indian Association on the cotton duties. The following is the substance of the editors comments on the reply which agree with those made by the Hindu Patriot. In the absence of any representative institutions in this country, and considering that the people have no voice in its administration, and that the Government is a despotism, the only means by which they can make known their wants. grievances, and sorrows to the rulers are the privilege of petitioning and writing in the newspapers. As to the latter, Act IX has been planted as a javelin in the hearts of the native papers, while the leading members of the English press have sold themselves to Government. Add to this, the force of public opinion, ill-informed as it is, is very weak in India. In these circumstances, the privilege of petitioning has been so long freely exercised, and particularly by the British Indian Association which has always done this on behalf of the country; while its representations were on all occasions taken into consideration by the predecessors of Lord Lytton, who acknowledged the ability and usefulness of the members. Lord Lytton, however, has acted differently. There was nothing discourteous in the memorial, in which the present critical state of the finances was dwelt upon with ability, and the proposed abolition of the cotton duties deprecated. Not a single word in their references to the instigation of Manchester, the recommendations of the Secretary of State, and other matters, was discourteous. Of course, there was nothing in the memorial of that fulsome flattery which seems to have been expected by Lord Lytton and his advisers from the natives of this country. Through contact with Englishmen, and through civilization induced by English education, the minds of the people have undergone a considerable change. It is no longer possible for them to be as obsequious to Government as formerly. Whatever frowns Lord Lytton may put on, and whatever the attitude he may like to pose in, educated natives will never be able to bring themselves to adore him as an imperturbable, spotless, and infallible person. The memorial was framed as other memorials are. Adverting to what public act of Lord Lytton's could the British Indian Association sing his praises? In truth, there is hardly any other respectable body of men in the world who, in approaching a Government with any memorial, was ever before thus insulted and rebuked. India has become distorted and pale with subjection, while the public opinion does not possess the least influence. Hence it was that the representative of the Empress of India could, in replying to the memorial, so far forget the dignity of his position, and give evidence of a bad taste. The rebuke administered would not have, however, made us sorry; a native of India is ushered into the world with a load of rebuke and humiliation upon his head. What we fear and are sorry for is that nobody, at least so long as Lord Lytton remains in power, will have the courage to approach the Viceroy with a memorial. He has not been able to refute the arguments adduced in the memorial, but, like a lawyer who has a bad case, has had recourse to abuse. There is a coincidence noticeable between the reply and the language of the financial In an inauspicious moment did Sir John statement just published. Strachey come to this country, and in an equally evil moment did Lord Lytton become his disciple.

The Sulabha Samáchár, of the 22nd March, observes that Lord SULABRA SAMACHAR, Lord Lytton and the British Indian Lytton is being blamed by many for the insult he has offered to certain leading men Association. of Calcutta. Doubtless he has not acted well in this case. He was, indeed, free to say what he pleased, and it is but true that the memorialists attend more to their own interests than to any other matter; still the manner, tone, and style of the reply are equally opposed to courtesy. He has by it offered an insult to our nation and brought a stain on the reputation of the people. It would not therefore be wrong on his part to ask for pardon.

The same paper notes that the budget was not this year intro- SULLIBER SANIGHAB.

duced into the Council. The laxity that The Budget for 1879-80. characterizes this official paper is not beneficial. Government has shown an extreme weakness in framing it. There has been an unprecedented increase of debt and taxation under the administration of Lord Lytton.

The Sádháraní, of the 23rd March, contains an article, headed the "English are very hasty." The writer con-

The English character and the trasts the habits of activity, and a readiness Famine Commission. to jump at conclusions, which characterize

Englishmen with the lethargy, slowness, and unpreparedness of natives of this country. The matter would not be of any consequence were it not for the circumstance, that we suffer ages for acts which are done after only a moment's deliberation by our rulers. A Hindu is always slow, while an Englishman is almost always hasty. The English seek to subvert by a single stroke the fabric of our society which has lasted for four thousand years. Laws are passed and multiplied with a rapidity which is really to be regretted. An Englishman really answers to the description of "John Bull" as given by the Punch. To give an example of this hastiness of disposition. Famine Commission has closed its labours, and the members have separated to write their reports. It is hard to believe that within such a short time they have been furnished with the data which would enable them to do justice to the important task entrusted to them. They were engaged in their work for about six months, about four months of which they spent in Simla, the centre of dancing and singing and theatricals. The remaining period only has been spent in tours through India. A series of questions was circulated from Simla to the local authorities to obtain information. There would have been something gained if the local officers had sought to answer these questions in good faith. But, as we have repeatedly observed, it is not their habit to do this. They generally conceal the true state of the districts under their charge and send rose-coloured reports. It was not well for the Famine Commission to have closed its labours merely relying on the reports of these officers. We do not say that this hastiness of disposition is altogether wrong, and the slowness that characterizes us is entirely praiseworthy. What we should like to see is a compromise between the two.

11. We make the following extracts from an article in the Sahachar, of the 24th March, headed the "Press Act and Press Act and the Soma Prathe Soma Prakásh :"-From the agitations that

were made both in England and India regarding the Vernacular Press Act, and the declaration made by the Government of India that, since the passing of the measure, an improvement had taken place in the tone of the native newspapers, the public were led to believe that it would serve only to act as an uplifted rod. We have, however, been disappointed. After the assurance given by the Lieutenant-Governor that the Act would not have any retrospective effect, peace was practically restored between His Honor and the native editors. They were glad that

March 22nd, 1879.

SADHABANI. March 28rd, 1879.

SAHACHAB, March 24th, 1879. he had so soon rectified the error that had been made in asking for a bailbond from them; and no fresh cause of misunderstanding arose after that event. The work of administration is conducted with so much impartiality by Sir Ashley Eden, that it is seldom that any cause arises for casting blame upon him. Although it is true that His Honor does not now seek as much as formerly to please the people, still it must be admitted that he is not the person to do any act of injustice or oppression. Why, then, have the printer and publisher of the Som Prakásh been called upon to enter into a bail-bond? We have read the letter of Mr. Secretary Macaulay, and perceive that the action now taken against the Soma Prakásh originated with the Government of India, and not with the Government of Bengal. As for the letter itself, the publication of which has furnished the grounds for the warning now given, we may say that it is a piece of foolish writing and that the editor ought to have torn it to pieces. We do not at all approve of its language. It does not appear that the writer comprehends the policy of Government in this Cabul war, otherwise he would not have spoken of it as a play. Equally incoherent are his observations respecting the English nation. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find anything in the letter which is positively seditious. Nowhere in it has anything been insinuated against the Government. There is flippancy noticeable in almost every word. This foolish writer seems to have thought that the more there was of ridicule in his letter, the more pleased the readers would be. We ask our European readers not to be surprised at this. They would never be able to understand so well as ourselves the language and motives of our fellowcountrymen. The correspondent of the Soma Prakásh has called the English a nation of tradesmen, and so many ships of words. In the case of direct address, where the second person is employed, harsh expressions should not, according to the rules of our language, be interpreted literally; and the utmost that could be said even of abuse must be that it was either ironical or sarcastic. Now, if this writer were asked to state his honest convictions, he must doubtless admit that a nation which was willing to make a gift of half a crore of rupees for the relief of the famine-stricken in India is certainly not a nation of low-minded shopkeepers. Why, then, do we see writing of this order? There can only be one answer to this. The writer is a foolish person, and he sees that both the European and native communities in this country are condemning the financial policy of the Government. That a single Ministry or an individual Governor-General might commit a blunder, and yet the whole British nation not be held responsible for it, is a thing which is far above the comprehension of this writer. As is the case between ourselves and the present administration of India, there has taken place a difference of opinion on political subjects between the present Ministry and many persons in England. There are discussions, and even abuses are occasionally resorted to. But all this has nothing to do with the empire and the constitution; the contrary is not even dreamt of. We will freely admit that we hate such writing. The whole country was indignant when Sir Mordaunt Wells branded the Bengalis as a nation of liars. We would have nothing to complain if the Europeans regarded the language of this letter as abusive and defamatory. It would be exceedingly unfair to censure the whole British nation, even if it were true that a single ruler had acted badly. The language of the writer, however, is marked by flippancy, and would not be noticed by anybody. Even if, instead of being sarcastic, as he is, he had stated what he believed to be the truth, nobody would have credited his statements. We shall not here raise any question of law. This time also the rulers have made a mistake. In the present case it is the Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs alone who has the authority to initiate action. Whatever that may be, it would have been better if the Government of India had not taken any notice of the letter in question. The object would have been better attained if, instead of demanding a bail-bond from the printer and publisher of the Soma Prakásh, the editor had been privately warned by the Press Commissioner; for in such matters the less there is of publicity the better. This course would be beneficial to both, and the public are sorry that Lord Lytton has not followed it in the present case. Where an ordinary letter is sufficient for the purpose, it is not wise on the part of the rulers to resort to force. It is for this reason that we find ourselves unable to approve of the present action of Government.

We make the following extracts from an article in the same paper, headed the "Budget and the news-The Budget and the newspapers. papers:"-There is a strange similarity between the dress of a Bayul* and the recently-published budget of Sir John Strachey. The Bayul's dress is made up of shreds and patches, and the budget of Sir John Strachey is a tissue of errors and fallacious arguments. Of all the arguments employed by him to justisfy the abolition of the cotton duties, not one has been deemed by the public to be reasonable. The Pioneer is an old friend of the two Stracheys. While the world says that the sooner they leave India the better it is for the country, the Pioneer affirms that such jewels are not to be found anywhere. But even that old friend the Pioneer has been constrained to find fault with the financial statement. (Here the remarks of the Allahabad paper follow.) We shall not add anything to the above. The protest of the Pioneer shows more than any other the condemnation which is being passed by the public on the present financial policy of the Government. And is it only one evil? There is war and there is distress occasioned by scarcity. We ask Lord Lytton that he should act in accordance with public opinion. There is little likelihood, at least so long as the present Ministry remains in power, of the cotton duties being re-imposed. Then there are famines and the war. As to the latter, since Government has entered upon it, it is the duty of the people to come to their aid without raising any question. In these hard times the license tax has aggravated the distress of the people; and to relieve it such means should be used as would give satisfaction on all sides. For this purpose, the Viceroy should call a meeting of the leading men of the country, and describe before them the true state of affairs. Let that tax be imposed which they are able and willing to pay. If the duty on salt were slightly enhanced, no one would probably feel it as a burden. There are of course the Exeter Hall and the Punjabi politicians. It is never a sound policy to be swayed by mere sentiment in this time of hardship. Astatesman should act according to the facts and circumstances in which he is placed, and not be guided by mere sentimental

Lord Lytton and the British Indian Association.

Indian Association on the cotton duties. His Excellency has in a manner told the members that, being representatives of landholders, it was not proper on their part to comment on the general financial policy of the Government. The editor, however, although he differs from the views of the Association on the rent question, states that it is regarded by the people as their representative, and that the members come from different classes of the society. Even if it were otherwise, it would be absurd to maintain that an association

considerations.

Sahachar, March 24th, 1879.

SARACHAR.

^{*} A Hindu mendicant belonging to one of the many orders of the Vaishnavs.

of landlords should not have the right to speak of any other topics except those that had reference to their own interests. Now the members of the House of Lords are almost all of them landholders; does Lord Lytton mean to say that they exceed their powers when they discuss any financial matter? The members of the British Indian Association have, ever since it was established, conducted discussions on all manner of public topics; and their representations regarding the cotton duties have the approval of both Europeans and natives in this country. The abolition of these duties has benefited Manchester. Does free trade mean the good of that body of merchants? The duties were not protective in their operation; and their repeal at this time of financial difficulty must be regarded as inopportune. Lord Lytton's reply to the deputation was discourteous and was not worthy of the dignity of his position. It has raised the prestige of the British Indian Association. The editor then points out that it is wrong to govern India according to the exigencies of party in England, and that the downfall of the Conservative Ministry is necessary to the welfare of India.

SAHACHAR, March 24th, 1879. 14. The same paper gathers from the official crop reports that considerable distress prevails in the Punjab, and that the prospect is not cheering. Government should be on the alert to open relief works. Sir George Couper did not do

this last year, and the result is well-known.

Sowa Prakash, March 24th, 1879. 15. The Soma Prakásh, of the 24th March, thus writes regarding the warning addressed to it in the Calcutta Gazette:—Government has become exceedingly displeased with the Soma Prakásh, and

for the last two or three months this has formed a subject of consideration. The Amir of Cabul has died, and has brought destruction upon this journal. The fatal step was taken when protest was made against the policy which Government has pursued towards him. This has displeased the authorities. The cloud was so long gathering thick, and now the thunderbolt has fallen. The letter of our Lahore correspondent has furnished the occasion for the discharge of this thunderbolt, and has been regarded as a piece of writing which has produced disaffection towards Government and antagonism to the British nation. We have not yet received any communications from Government, but have seen published in the Statesman a letter of Mr. Secretary Macaulay to the Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs, sent through the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, in which the publisher of this paper is required to enter into a bail-bond for Rs. 1,000, and deposit the sum with the Government. (Mr. Macaulay's letter and that of the Lahore correspondent are here given.)

It does not, in any way, appear from a perusal of the letter that the correspondent has written it with a malicious motive, and with a view either to excite disaffection to the British Government, or produce a feeling of hostility to the British nation. It is rather likely that the writer takes the Government of India and the English to be as pure and spotless in their character as the gods; and that he cannot bear to see anything wrong done by this god-like Government and the god-like English nation; consequently he has expressed his regret, and used such endeavours as would dissuade them from committing that wrong. That he has not written from hostile motives is clearly seen from the concluding portion of his letter, where it is said that—"On the other hand, famine, plague, and other demons have arranged to rend us asunder; or perhaps India has become a burden on Providence, and He has become incapable of bearing the load. However, it is no good crying (howling) in this manner: it is simply bawling out to no purpose." Is this the style of seditious writing, and is that seditious which is not

written with the motive of injuring the Government? Has not the letter in question been written with a view to do it good? There is only one fault, however, which, we see, he has been guilty of, namely, that in this age of civilization, when language is used to conceal one's thoughts, he has honestly expressed his own convictions. He would have doubtless written cautiously had his heart been at fault. Unfortunately for Indian what he had thought would prove beneficial and would lead Englishmen to reform their ways and set themselves to do good to the country has produced quite contrary effects, and he has been adjudged disloyal. We have another reason for thinking as we have stated above. In the course of his letter from Umballa, published in our issue of the 17th March, the same writer laments the backward state of education in the Punjab. The editor then says that although by always supporting the measures of Government he might avoid incurring their displeasure, still he could never bring himself to do so, for in that case the paper would cease to be of any use. Government should be made acquainted with the wants and grievances, views and feelings of the people through the medium of newspapers; and the editors should be wanting in their duty if, through fear of incurring the displeasure of the authorities, they refrained from pointing out the errors and shortcomings of the latter. There are many officers who lack sympathy for the people, while there are others who are partial and utterly devoid of any moral principles. Newspapers would be to no purpose, and do injury to both Government and the people, if they did not expose acts of injustice. Now this is a critical time for the newspapers. While Government would not like to have any dissentient criticism passed upon its measures and policy, the editors cannot, if they happen to notice anything wrong, keep silent. Hence it is that they have been set down as being hostile to Government. This is not a pleasant state of things, and quite different from what the case was formerly, when the rulers listened carefully to the representations of the newspapers. To promote the good of the country has ever been the chief object of this paper, while pecuniary gain was but a secondary consideration with those who started it. The indifference manifested at the present time by Government to the newspapers, both English and native, makes the attainment of the former almost impossible. while the latter also is not likely to be obtained from the predicament in which the Soma Prakásh has now been placed. It is difficult to continue its publication with a sword drawn over its head. Would not a trade in rice with a capital of Rs. 1,000, the sum required to be deposited, return profits sufficient for our livelihood? The rulers have now become fault-finding; they do not judge any writing by its spirit. They become deaf, and do not credit us with admiration for Government when we rend the skies with singing their praises, but whenever we chance to protest against any act of injustice, they instantly set us down as rebels.

On a consideration of all these circumstances, we determined to stop the publication of this paper; but on the advice of friends, and inasmuch as no communication has yet been directly addressed to us, we have given up that idea, and resolved not to cease from our labour until we have been fully informed of the offence for which a bond and deposit have been asked from us. We are not conscious of having ever excited anybody against Government, or sought to produce in any one's mind disaffection towards it. The letter of our Lahore correspondent has only furnished an opportunity for giving vent to the anger which Government had doubtless secretly cherished against this paper. It is necessary that we should know what is the cause of this anger. That the rulers may not do wrong, and with a view to dissuade them

^{*} See paragraph 6 of our last report.

from it, has our correspondent written, but his words have seemed bitter to the authorities. But they are not the less true on that account; and they are supported by facts. Since without enquiring how many learned or illiterate men have, by perusing that letter, been really led to conceive a disaffection towards the British rule and an ill-feeling to the British nation, and since without enquiring whether the editor of a newspaper is responsible for the opinions that may be expressed by his correspondents, Government has called upon the Soma Prakash to enter into a bail-bond and make a deposit, does it not seem clear that the intention of the rulers is to conduct the administration after having gagged the people? The editor concludes with the observation that while Government does not take any notice of the strictures which are passed on its action by the English editors, who, as a matter of fact, use language of denunciation compared with which the remarks of the Lahore correspondent are but a mild reproof, the slightest criticism coming from a native is regarded as virulent poison. This is indeed a sad state of things.

SOMA PRAKASH, March 24th, 1879.

16. In another article, the same paper exhorts his correspondents in The Soma Prakásh and Act IX of future to be more careful in writing of public men and measures, and Government to be more liberal, considerate, and tolerant. The discontinuance of the Soma Prakásh, should the measures now adopted towards it bring about such a result, would really be a loss to the country. It is a popular paper, and has rendered signal service in calling forth habits of activity in the people and in improving the Bengali language.

SOMA PRAKASH.

17. The same paper directs the attention of the authorities to the inconvenience the inhabitants of not a few villages are put to, particularly in the rainy season, from a want of roads. They regularly pay the road cess, but do not receive any benefit in return.

SOMA PRAKASH.

18. One Kaliprasanna Bannerji sends some verses to the Soma The apprehended discontinuance of the Soma Prakásh.

Prakásh, in which he regrets that Government should be so sensitive to criticism as to warn this "friend of Bengal" of the danger he was incurring by his writings. The meritorious services and the independent tone of the journal are dwelt upon.

SAR SUDHANIDHI, March 24th, 1879. 19. The Sár Sudhánidhi, of the 24th March, in noticing the Financial Statement for 1879-80. Statement for 1879-80, reproduces the remarks noticed in paragraphs 16 and 18 of our last Report.

SAMACHAR FAR, March 94th, 1879. 20. The Samáchár Sár, of the 24th March, dwells on the distress which prevails at the present time on account of high prices, multiplicity of taxes, and introduction of articles of luxury from the West, the spread of English education, which make the natives only hanker after situations in the public service, and the competition of Manchester which has destroyed the indigenous arts and manufactures.

SAMACHAR SAR.

21. The Rangoon correspondent of the same paper notices with remarkable and Market and Market and Market and Market and Market and the other for the misgovernment—one for his unprincipled character, and the other for the misgovernment of his people—nothing has yet been done to the present cruel King of Burmah. According to an educated Burmese, the British Government lords it over the weak, but avoids by every means the strong.

22. We have received for the first time a new weekly paper in Bengali, styled the Ananda Bazar Patriká, and published in Calcutta. The present issue is

AWAYDA BARAN PATRIMA, March 96th, 1879.

published in Calcutta. The present issue is No. 46 of the first volume. Although in existence for about a year, it was not hitherto supplied to this office; and the present number has only been received in consequence of a communication which was addressed to the publisher by this office last week. It bears a separate title, but is, in effect, a Bengali edition of the Amrita Bazar Patriká, which, since the passing of the Vernacular Press Act, has continued to appear wholly in English. We shall notice the contents of the present number in our next report.

LOCAL.

23. The Bhárat Mihir, of the 20th March, dwells on the hardship occasioned to the people by the unjust assessments with the License Tax made in Mymensingh. Appeals are not generally made because they are fruitless, and from a consideration of the expense which they entail. The present Collector, however, has done justice in a few instances.

BRARAT MINIR, March 20th, 1879.

24. A correspondent of the same paper makes the same complaint as regards Sherpore. He further notices an instance of oppression committed on the inhabitants of Kandi by the servants of certain Europeans who went to the place in the course of a hunting excursion.

BRABAT MINIS.

25. The Mymensingh correspondent of the Dacca Prakásh, of the 16th March, notices with regret that although the establishment of a new sub-division at Netrokoná has long been sanctioned by Government, still the scheme has not yet been carried out. This has occasioned great inconvenience to the inhabitants, who have to go a long distance for purposes of litigation, and are put to considerable expense.

DACCA PRAKASH, March 16th, 1879.

26. A correspondent of the Sahachar, of the 24th March, refers to the hardship occasioned to the inhabitants by the inequitable assessments made under the License Tax Act by one Beharilal Datta of Mahishrakha. The Deputy Magistrate, Babu Tarini Prosad Raya, is, however, rectifying the wrongs and doing justice to the sufferers.

SAHACHAB, March 24th, 1879.

27. A correspondent of the Soma Prakásh, of the 24th March, complains that under the present arrangement, by which the Somrá, Balágar, Guptipara, Digra, and other post-offices have been made subject to the head office at Magra, considerable delay takes place in the delivery of letters. The writer suggests a return to the old system, under which the head office was located at Pandua.

Sona Prakase, March 24th, 1879.

28. Another, writing to the same paper, dwells on the high rates of assessments with the License Tax which have been made in Pirpointee and Bhagulpore.

Appeals are not always successful. The assessors and mukhtars are described as making much money.

SOMA PRAKASH.

29. The Umballa correspondent of the same paper refers to the wretched state of the roads in the native quarters of that city, compared with the wide and beautiful communications in those portions where the English reside, although the inhabitants living in the former regularly pay the taxes.

SOMA PRAKASH.

Soma PRAKASH, March 24th, 1879. 30. Another, writing to this paper from Midnapore, refers to the inconvenience which results to the inhabitants for want of roads in the Maynapur perwant of a road connecting the head-quarters of the Midnapore district with Maynapur pergunnah. Since the introduction of the Road and the Public Works Cesses about five to six thousand rupees have been annually levied from this locality, but not a single courie has been spent on the construction of any roads or communications for the benefit of the inhabitants.

SOMA PRABASH.

31. Another correspondent asks Government, through the medium of this journal, to put a stop to the occurrence of dacoities on the Eahálari, Mithekund, and other canals used by boats in coming below Rasulpore and through the mouth of the Hooghly to Calcutta. These being laden with corn are attacked by dacoits, who come in large numbers. Their depredations have increased since last year. The authorities are besought to place a number of patrol boats at Kálsápá, Rángámeteá, Bágándá, Mithekund, Shivganj, Erekháli, Jhikarkháli, and Báhálari.

RAJKRISHNA MUKHOPADHYAYA, M.A. & B.L.,

Bengali Translator.

Bengali Translator's Office, The 29th March 1879.